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ERRATA.

Page	9,	line	9,	read	daughter instead of sister
"	34,	"	9,	"	meed instead of mead
"	46,	"	17,	"	Iungentur instead of Jungentur
"	53,	"	13,	"	Eustochium instead of Eustochim
"	55,	"	7,	"	sentiam. instead of sentiam
"	61,	"	26,	"	per- instead of per
"	66,	"	16,	"	madefacta instead of madefacto
"	68,	"	13,	"	vovet instead of votet
"	69,	"	26,	"	optabunt instead of optabant
"	69,	"	10,	"	calet. instead of calet,
"	72,	"	3(XI.),	"	evincere instead of evincere,
"	74,	"	4,	"	qui instead of quae
"	76,	"	8,	"	Graiis instead of Graiis,
"	78,	"	48,	"	sententia instead of sententia,
"	78,	"	51,	"	adversis. instead of adversis
"	79,	"	70,	"	Apollo'. instead of Apollo.

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PREFACE.

Feeling the need of a little manual on woman's literary work among the ancient Romans for my classes, these pages have been written and are now presented in print for their use.

It is more of a compilation or collection of material than an original and critical study of the subject,—a suggestion rather than a satisfaction. Written amid the stress of college work, errors may be discovered, and it is accordingly hoped, for future betterment, that the following request is not too demanding upon the time of any classical scholar into whose hands it may chance to fall: "Siquid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti." I have tried in all important cases to acknowledge in the Appendix my indebtedness to the authorities used.

SMITH COLLEGE, March, 1894.

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CHAPTER I.

"Know the woman's cause is man's."—*Tennyson.*

This small volume aims to contribute a little to the comparatively meager knowledge of the literary work and influence of the women of ancient Rome, and it is written in the hope that a more intimate acquaintance with the achievement (however small this may be) of her less-favored sister in the remote past may lead woman of this year of grace the better to appreciate her present advantages, and may inspire her to nobler endeavor in the future.

We shall not expect to be told of great wonders performed by Roman women in the domain of letters, or to find many geniuses among them, even any, perhaps, that could triumphantly bear the test of the powerfully critical microscope of a Molly Elliot Seawell, yet we may discover results effected by them quite as uplifting and helpful to the human race as the deeds of men of much greater renown.

Let us remember in the outset, when discussing and judging woman's work, that a great deal she has done (and for that matter

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still does) is hidden, does not appear above the surface, and is therefore so frequently unrecognized and unrecorded.

Her influence upon the progress of knowledge in general has been described as a kind of undercurrent, which, though unseen to most men, is still there, powerfully affecting and moulding the course of human events.

It is the silent, often unappreciated, though many times immeasurable influence of women that I would have the reader consider, when criticising woman's work and comparing woman's achievements with man's in the ancient world of Roman life and letters.

At the very beginning of Roman history it was the mediation of women that saved the infant state. They courageously threw themselves, amid the flying weapons, between their Sabine fathers and their Roman husbands, beseeching them not to pollute themselves more with impious blood, but if they must have satisfaction, to turn their resentment upon them, the cause of this war, of wounds, and of bloodshed to their husbands and parents (1). Their words caused silence among the contestants and a suspension of hostilities ; peace was finally concluded and a united state established. Hersilia (2) was their spokesman, according to Plutarch

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(Romulus), who gives her intercessory address (3) delivered to both armies in the Forum, one of the first recorded speeches in Roman history.

Those great books of ceremony and ritual, the Sibylline, came to the Romans, according to the legend, through the Cumaean Sibyl. It is also well worth mentioning that the Romans made use of another religious work said to have been written by the Etruscan nymph Begoe, in which she communicated to men the whole theory and system of thunder and lightning (4). A Latin version of this "Ars Fulguritarum" was freely consulted by the lightning-interpreters and was sacredly guarded, in the time of Augustus, along with the Marcian songs and the Sibylline books, in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

Tanaquil, that bold Etrurian diviner and prophetess, who knew the secrets of men and who, by her skill in the science of augury, could foresee the future, led her husband, Lucumo, son of the Corinthian Demaratus, out of the narrow and conservative Etruria to Rome, and succeeded in setting him (now Tarquinius Priscus) upon its throne,—a reign unsurpassed by any in glory and conquest.

It was a woman's prayers, a woman's tears,

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a woman's eloquence that once succeeded in accomplishing what man had been unable to do. Veturia and Volumnia, the mother and wife of Coriolanus (5), advised and urged on by the noble matron Valeria, met the insulted and exiled leader of the Volscian hosts before the walls of Rome and persuaded him to spare the city. Upon their triumphal entry into the city they were welcomed by the people as their saviors, all strewing flowers before them as they passed along and shouting, "Welcome, Ladies, welcome." Though to commemorate the deed, a temple to Fortuna Muliebris was erected on the spot where Coriolanus yielded to his mother's reproaches and his wife's tears, how rarely do we hear of woman's noble service and how often of the great patrician's magnanimity.

Furthermore, the Vestals, the watchful guardians of the sacred fire and the mysterious Palladium, exercised the greatest influence on the social, political and religious life of Rome. Immense power and uncommon privileges were bestowed upon them, and most extravagant honors were paid them in life and in death, yet, at the present time, their names are unremembered, almost unknown.

It was the ambition of Fabia that incited her husband, G. Licinius Stolo, to propose,

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in 366 B. C., those famous, epoch-making laws (known in history as the Licinian Laws) for the relief of the poor and for the political advancement of the plebeians (6).

Cornelia's influence and character inspired her sons with courage and resolution to assail patrician injustice and to face even death in the cause of the people.

Julia, Caesar's sister and Pompey's wife, was the link that held together the two triumvirs, and on her death the bond of peace between the great rivals for the sovereignty of the Roman world was forever broken. Cornelia, Pompey's second wife, was devoted to him, and exerted a very great influence upon his career. She was a woman of great learning (7), though free from all affectation and pedantic display. The part that Octavia, wife of Mark Antony, took in the affairs of state was always "beneficial and judicious."

We read of women, who aided their husbands in writing their books, accompanied them on their military expeditions (their power and influence on the soldiery, in many instances, being most marked), and were of service to them in the administration of their provinces (8). The destiny of Rome was not infrequently decided by women, and we know of more than one Empress who governed

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Rome in the name of her husband. Even Augustus, one of the greatest statesmen of all time, was frequently advised, in matters of state, by his able wife Livia (9), and it is related that he never consulted her upon subjects of importance without, in advance, writing upon tablets all he wished to express, lest, if he spoke extemporaneously, he should say more or less than was proper (10).

That heroic and virtuous woman, the elder Agrippina, accompanied Germanicus on his campaigns and was his constant adviser and helper.

Under the Empire, one of the most striking examples of woman's indirect influence upon literature was Calpurnia, wife of Pliny. He, in a letter to her aunt Calpurnia Hispulla (Ep. IV. 19), writes that his most worthy wife took the greatest interest in his literary work and in his public career as a lawyer; that she possessed a great love of literature, she read and re-read his books, learned them even by heart, set his verses to music, accompanying them, as she sang, with the lyre, guided by no artist but love, who is the best master (11).

[Surely, to such as Calpurnia and the Cornelias could fittingly be applied the words of Lecky, in characterizing the noble Roman women, "of large and accomplished minds

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united with all the gracefulness of intense womanhood, and all the fidelity of the truest love."]

And in lessons of heroism, from whom could Roman men better learn than from the two Arrias and Fannia, wife of Helvidius Priscus?

In the early Christian church there are numerous and noted examples of woman's activity and influence, and from the very beginning the Roman women were the most devout and earnest followers of Christianity and were its most vigorous propagandists. Among them I might mention, as holding a most honorable place in the history of the early church, Marcellina, Monica, Marcella, Paula and Eustochium. Marcellina is well-known for her influence over her brother St. Ambrose, so delightfully and lovingly revealed in his letters to her. Chiefly through the nurture, instruction and character of his wise and saintly mother (12), St. Augustine, the greatest Father of the Latin church, became the man that he was.

Marcella, Paula and Eustochium are particularly noted for their association with, and influence upon, St. Jerome. Marcella was a woman of noble blood, great wealth, learning and piety, and was the founder of monastic

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life in Rome. Her palace on the Aventine (13) became a center of great religious influence and power. In this palace-convent Roman women of the highest rank resided, forming a devout literary circle devoted to the study of the Scriptures, to psalmody, prayer and active Christian work. It was mainly through her influence and learning that Pope Athanasius passed condemnation upon the views of Origen and his defenders. When Athanasius hesitated in regard to the position he should take in the matter of Rufinus' translation of Origen's Greek work, On First Principles, Marcella went to him in person and pointed out the passages, which, though veiled in Rufinus' translation, still merited the Pope's condemnation. "Of this glorious victory," says Jerome, "Marcella was the origin." He says again, "during the whole time of my residence in Rome, Marcella never saw me without asking some question about history or dogma. She was not satisfied with any answer I might chance to give; she never yielded to my authority only, but discussed the matter so thoroughly that often I ceased to be the master and became her humble pupil." Yet the two other members of the circle on the Aventine deserve even more conspicuous notice for their culture, piety,

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and the inspiration and support they gave to the great writer and Father of the Latin church, the high-born Paula (of the Aemilian gens) and her daughter, Julia, better known as Eustochium. They, with other holy and zealous women, after the death of Pope Damasus, followed Jerome to Bethlehem, and remained his faithful companions and helpers until their deaths. Of her own means, which were large, Paula gave unstintingly to Jerome, for the building of the monasteries and hospital near the Grotto of the Nativity, and much to charity,—with the result that she died in poverty. But more than this, she and Eustochium gave encouragement and assistance to Jerome in his great literary undertakings. Both were fine linguists, versed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew (14), and were of special assistance in the preparation of the famous Vulgate version of the Old and New Testaments, the authorized canonical scriptures of the Roman Catholic church. Protestants, as well, owe grateful remembrance to Paula and Eustochium for the great assistance they rendered Jerome in the revision of the psalter (15). They aided him in the critical translation and revision of the Psalms; and the beautiful and rhythmical English version in the Book of Common Prayer, in

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general use in the service of the church, was, for the most part, taken, not from the original Hebrew, but from this Latin version of St. Jerome, the Gallican Psalter based on the Hexapla text of the Septuagint.

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In the specific treatment of the literary work of Roman women, I would divide the subject-matter into the several departments of Epistolary Composition, Oratory, Poetry, History.

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CHAPTER II.

EPISTOLARY COMPOSITION.

Along with Cato's letters to his son, mentioned by Cicero and Plutarch, the oldest monuments of epistolary writing among the Romans, were the letters of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, and daughter of the great Scipio Africanus, the most noble, accomplished and patriotic of Roman matrons. Mommsen, in speaking of this collection of letters, says: "they were remarkable partly for the classical purity of the language and the high spirit of the writer, partly as the first correspondence published in Rome, and as the first literary production of a Roman lady." The Gracchi lost their father in their early boyhood, yet Cornelia filled his place most worthily and directed their education. Their eloquence was the eloquence of their mother; and Cicero well says: "we have all read the letters of Cornelia, and are satisfied that her sons were not so much nurtured in their mother's lap as in the eloquence and purity of her language" (16). And again, "Gracchus had the advantage of being carefully instructed by his mother from his very

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childhood, and his mind was enriched with all the stores of Grecian literature" (17). Quintilian refers to her also in the same vein : "In parents, I should wish that there should be as much learning as possible. Nor do I speak, indeed, merely of fathers ; for we have heard that Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi (whose very learned writing in her letters has come down to posterity), contributed greatly to their eloquence" (18). Cornelia was most ambitious for her sons and desired no other jewels than their glory, and continually directed and advised them in their political careers. It has been said that Tiberius Gracchus was loyal to the cause of popular liberty, while Gaius devoted his life, to secure the rights of the people and also to avenge his murdered brother. In every speech and in every place the burden of his impassioned eloquence was, "Pessimi Tiberium meum fratrem optimum virum interfecerunt" (19). Revenge was ever mingled with his patriotism. The desire to bring to punishment the murderers of his brother so inflamed him that it became almost madness. So vigorous and cruel was his hate, so ardent was his advocacy of the popular party, so uncontrolled his oratory that, as Cicero tells us, he was obliged to have a slave behind him on the rostra, that,

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by the soothing strains of the flute, he might be recalled to moderation in language and softness of tone (20). Such was the man whom Cornelia sought to control and to dissuade from immoderate action. In the fragments of the only letter extant, written in the year of Gaius' candidacy for the tribunate, 124 B. C., she says in substance: "It may be a great and beautiful thing to avenge the wrongs of one's enemies, if thereby you do not destroy the Republic. Far better is it that our enemies triumph than that our country suffer. Stop in your wild course and reflect; heed your mother, and in her old age give her as little cause for anxiety and trouble as possible. You now distress me almost as much as the assassins of Tiberius. I have but a few years to live on earth, make them peaceful and free from all disturbance. When will my family cease from its madness and come to its senses? Sue for the tribunate, if you will, when I am dead, but oh! wait till then, when you will love me and revere me as one divine" (21). Though Gaius sometimes yielded to his mother's advice as in the case of the law directed against Octavius, which he withdrew at her request, yet this tender appeal was of little avail. In the final struggle (124–121 B. C.), beginning

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with the passage of the Sempronian Laws, he would not draw back from what he thought his duty, but continued the fierce contest against the patricians until, overcome by Opimius, he found shelter in the Grove of the Furies where, at his own command, he fell stabbed by his faithful slave (22).

After the death of Gaius, Cornelia repaired to her villa at Misenum where she spent the closing years of her life, cherishing the memory of her sons, relating their glorious deeds and deaths, and speaking of them "without a sigh or tear." She there received the homage of the most learned men of Greece and Rome, of foreign kings and princes. Ptolemy Philometor sought her for his wife, but she refused his offer and the crown of Egypt. The people, full of love and reverence for her, erected at Rome a statue in her honor with the inscription, "Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi" (23).

Though the letters of the wife of Pompeius Saturninus were probably never published, they certainly deserved to be, if they merited the high praise bestowed upon them by the younger Pliny, in one of his letters to Erucius (Ep. I. 16). He there writes: "Pompeius Saturninus has lately read me some letters which, he says, are from his wife. I fancied

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myself listening to Plautus or Terence in prose. Whether they are his wife's, as he affirms, or his own, as he denies them to be, he is entitled to equal credit; in the one case for producing such compositions, in the other case, for turning his wife — a mere girl when he married her — into such a learned woman."

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CHAPTER III.

ORATORY.

Many a time has the voice of Roman woman been raised in behalf of her country against the foreign invader, the traitor, or the oppressor; and we have many instances of her ability and resolute courage in defending her own interests when necessity demanded it, notably at the repeal of the Oppian law, which had been passed during the strain of the Second Punic war, 215 B. C., to check the extravagant expenditure of women. A score of years later the tribunes Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius proposed to repeal this law and were fiercely opposed by the conservatives, particularly Cato (24). Many violent debates arose from the proposal, and the Capitol and the Forum were thronged with the partisans of the opposing sides, both men and women, the latter taking an active part. Their vigorous and important canvass for the abrogation of this sumptuary law, which interfered with their rights as women, effected its repeal.

The most interesting and valuable information regarding women as public speakers

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comes from Valerius Maximus (25). He relates that Amaesia Sentia, in a certain suit about the year 77 B. C. (praetorship of L. Titius), defended her cause with much vigor and address before a vast crowd of people, and conducted her case with accurate knowledge of the forms of procedure. She was immediately acquitted by the almost unanimous verdict of the jurors, and on account of her manly and courageous effort the Romans gave her the name of Androgyne. The quarrelsome and combative Afrania, wife of the Senator Licinius Buccio, deserves but a passing word. She was continually getting into legal scrapes and often, with a by no means melodious voice, advocated her case before the praetor, not because she failed to secure lawyers in her defence but because she possessed an over-supply of impudence. Her name afterward became a by-word of reproach among the Romans. Afrania readily calls to mind that passage in Juvenal (Sat. VI. 242–245), describing the contentious Roman woman of his day :

Nulla fere causa est, in qua non femina litem moverit. accusat Manilia, si rea non est.
componunt ipsae per se formantque libellos, principium atque locos Celso dictare paratae (26).

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But a more pleasing as well as more remarkable woman was Hortensia, daughter of the distinguished orator Q. Hortensius Hortalus (114–50 B. C.), the most noted representative of the Asiatic style of oratory, once the rival and later the friend and coadjutor of Cicero. Hortensia appeared in 43 B. C. before the triumvirs, Octavius, Lepidus and Mark Antony, and defended, "et constanter et feliciter," as Valerius Maximus puts it, the rights of women, combating the unjust and heavy tax that had been laid upon Roman matrons by these men. The speech must have been extant in Quintilian's day, for he speaks in high praise of it thus: "The oration of the daughter of Quintus Hortensius, delivered before the triumvirs, is read not merely as an honor to her sex" (27).

With the aid of Valerius Maximus and of Appian (28) we learn the circumstances, thought and argument, as also the outcome, of her oration. It was in those distressing days of the triumvirate at Rome when its political enemies paid for their opposition with their lives, while, of the rest of the people, in gratitude for their submissiveness, their possessions were demanded. All were included in the triumvirs' exactions: all inhabitants of Rome and Italy, men and women, citizens

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and foreigners, priests and freedmen had to contribute to fill their empty military chests with gold and silver. Thus they imposed a heavy war tax upon fourteen hundred of the richest Roman matrons, who rebelled and refused to give of their wealth for such a purpose. In their perplexity and despair they asked the intercession of Octavius' sister and Antony's mother, whom they found favorable, but on appealing to Fulvia, Antony's wife, they were repulsed and driven from her door. Indignant, they repaired in a body to the Roman Forum and made their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs. Hortensia was their advocate, for no man had the courage to undertake their defence. She delivered a powerful address, the substance of which is here given : "Before presenting ourselves before you we have solicited the intervention of Fulvia ; her refusal to listen to us has obliged us to come hither. You have taken away our fathers, our children, our brothers, our husbands ; to deprive us of our fortune also is to reduce us to a condition which befits neither our birth, nor our habits, nor our sex; it is to extend your proscription to us. But have we then raised soldiers against you or sought after your offices? From the time of Hannibal, Roman women have willingly given

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to the treasury their jewels and ornaments; let the Gauls or the Parthians come and there will be found in us no less patriotism. But do not ask us to contribute to this fratricidal war which is rending the Republic; neither Marius nor Cinna nor even Sulla, during his tyranny, had such audacity" (29). The triumvirs tried to drive away Hortensia and her followers, but finally gave way, inasmuch as the populace sympathized with the women. On the next day an edict appeared reducing the number of women to be taxed to four hundred, or as Valerius Maximus states it, the result of her eloquent speech was the remission of the greater part of the money exacted.

St. Jerome (ad a. 2352 of Abraham = 335 A. D.) mentions the daughter of the rhetorician and panegyrist of Constantine, Nazarius, as equal to her father in eloquence: "Nazarii rhetoris filia in eloquentia patri coaequatur" (30).

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CHAPTER IV.

POETRY.

Though Roman poetry is unable to furnish such an illustrious example as the Lesbian Sappho, and though we have no evidence, even, of any Roman Corinna who was so endowed by the Muses as to defeat repeatedly (31) a Roman Pindar in a musical or poetic contest, yet there were many, who cultivated and wrote poetry and whose productions were by no means discreditable to them or to Roman literature. We have evidence of this from many sources, and frequent mention is made by Roman writers of their countrywomen who either were graceful and charming writers of verse themselves or the inspirers of the muse of others.

Though Sallust (Cat. c. 25) paints Sempronia, the wife of D. Junius Brutus (Con. 77 B. C.), in very dark colors, representing her as one of Catiline's accomplices and a woman altogether lacking in virtue and character, still he credits her with great learning, ability to write poetry, and many other accomplishments: — "litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est

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probae multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. . ingenium eius haud absurdum : posse versus facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci ; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat."

Near the close of the Republic there flourished a poetess, Cornificia by name, who composed Epigrams that were extant in the time of St. Jerome and were highly esteemed by that great Christian writer, being mentioned by him in his Chronicle of Eusebius (ad a. of Abraham 1976=41 B. C.) : "Cornificius (32) poeta a militibus desertus . . . . . huius soror Cornificia, cuius insignia exstant epigrammata."

Hostia of Tibur was a poetess whom Propertius, in his Elegies, celebrates under the name of Cynthia, and praises her skill in lyric poetry (33), as also in music, dancing and needle-work. In one poem (34) he compared her with Erinna and Corinna.

Ovid in his Tristia (III. 7) addresses one Perilla, supposed to be either his daughter or step-daughter, whose poetic genius he had perceived in her early years, and whose taste for poetry he had encouraged. He urges her not to flag in her zeal for poetry, but to continue her literary work and, like him, aspire to immortality, remembering that her

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native grace and beauty will vanish in old age, while the blessings of the heart and endowments of the mind will never perish (35).

In one of his Epigrams (36) Martial describes a young woman, named Theophila, the fiancée of his friend, Canius Rufus of Gades, as one thoroughly instructed in philosophy, endowed with marvelous poetic powers and critical judgment, chaster than Sappho and as learned (37). In the same poem occurs the name of another poetess, Pantaenis (38), not to be preferred to Theophila, but still well known to the daughters of Pierus.

We now come to the two Sulpicias, the most famous of Roman poetesses. In the reign of Augustus there flourished two great literary circles, standing somewhat in contrast to each other, the Circle of Maecenas and that of Messala. The former was the Circle of the Court and interested itself in the life and movement of the time. To it belonged those great exponents of the nation's thought, feeling and action, Horace and Vergil. The principal member and chief representative of the Circle of Messala was Tibullus, who took little interest in the politics of the day, in the court (he does not mention the name of Augustus a single time), or even in the

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ordinary events of the times. In this circle we meet with people leading a much less serious, a much more patient and peaceable existence. As one has said, it was a world "where everybody is out of work and sad for love from pure idleness" (39). Theirs was a life of sweet doing nothing, in which love and the peaceful enjoyments of rural scenes, and the "dulcedo otii," were the burden of their song. "Little interest was felt in history and philosophy, or severe studies and pursuits of any kind" (40). What a striking contrast to that circle from which proceeded those stirring and patriotic odes of Horace and that grand national and religious epic, in which Vergil celebrates the glories and fortunes of the ancestor of the Julian family!

Where more naturally than in the Circle of Messala, should we expect to find those six elegies of the gentle, loving, chivalric Lygdamus, and the charming, idyllic and unconventional billets-doux, which deal with the love of Sulpicia and Cerinthus? It is only with these latter poems that we are concerned and which form numbers 2–12 inclusive of Book IV. of Tibullus (41). These eleven short poems relate to us a pretty and most romantic love story of the time of Augustus. From the unique position which they hold in

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Roman literature and because of their considerable poetic and literary worth, they do not deserve to remain unknown to, or be forgotten by, us. They are very gracefully, feelingly and often naïvely expressed, in their artistic treatment they equal, and in their dramatic conciseness surpass, Tibullus' elegies on Delia, in which, it is generally conceded, he reached the zenith of his poetic power. The authorship of these eleven poems has long been an open question. Did Tibullus write them? So far as tenderness of feeling, "elegance of speech and purity of diction" are concerned, they are not unworthy of him, and he might have composed them at a time when his own love affairs, as has been suggested, were not giving him the usual annoyance. According to this view, Tibullus, as a fond and sympathetic looker-on, describes objectively the love and various experiences of the two young people. But it has seemed to me most reasonable, and in accord with the view of the most scholarly critics of to-day, to assign the authorship to two poets; the last six poems (42) to Sulpicia herself and numbers 2–6 inclusive to some other person, it may be Tibullus, Messala, or Cerinthus,—though, in my opinion,

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there is some reason for crediting numbers 3 and 5 also to Sulpicia.

Agreed upon this question of authorship, it is natural to ask next who are Sulpicia and Cerinthus. Sulpicia was a Roman lady of noble family and sprang from two very old and famous patrician houses. Her father was Servius Sulpicius (43) and her mother, Valeria, sister of Messala; thus she was granddaughter of the great jurist of the time of Cicero, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, and niece of the famous statesman, orator and man of letters under Augustus, M. Valerius Messala Corvinus. She was both beautiful and accomplished, possessed a vivacious and ardent nature, and was passionately in love with the young Greek Cerinthus. Little or nothing is known of him, though he was probably of inferior rank to Sulpicia, and he was perhaps that friend of Tibullus, to whom the latter addressed two of his elegies (44).

Of these eleven poems, to which we have referred, the first might be entitled the Praise of Sulpicia. It was sent to her by the writer on the first of March, the celebration of the Matronalia, when presents or compliments were, according to custom, sent to matrons and maidens. The poem is a sincere tribute to her beauty and many charms. The writer

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warns Mars, on leaving the skies to beware of this seductive siren, lest, overcome with admiration for her, he should ignominiously let fall his weapons of war. Whatever Sulpicia does, wherever she goes, Beauty unseen accompanies her and arranges her attire; however arrayed, she is beautiful and fires the soul with love. She, like the god of the changing year, Vertumnus, wears becomingly a thousand dresses and she alone is worthy to be clothed in the fine, twice-dyed Tyrian wool; she alone deserves to own the fragrant, spice-bearing fields of far-off Arabia and the pearls that are gathered by the dusky Indian along the Red Sea's shore. "Sing her praises, ye muses, and thou, Apollo, on thy tuneful shell, on this glad festal day, which should never cease to be celebrated from year to year!"

In the second poem, Sulpicia, with much tenderness, seeks to persuade Cerinthus, who is then absent with a hunting party, to give up his love for the chase and the sports of the field that he may devote his time to her alone. She prays that the savage boar will spare her lover and that Love may restore him to her again. "Destruction upon hounds and forests!" she exclaims. "What madness is it to enclose the ground with nets, or what

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pleasure to invade the wild beasts' lairs and tear with bramble-thorns his snowy limbs?" Still, she would be content, could she but accompany him and roam with him over the mountains; she would bear the tangled nets, help track the flying deer and unchain the swift-footed dog. By his side, the woods would be full of charm and loveliness. In the next lines,

"Et quaecumque meo furtim subrepet amori,
Incidat in saevas diripienda feras,"

Sulpicia shows herself a little jealous of some rival, and cries "may the maid who'd steal thee from my love be mangled by the wild and cruel beasts;" and her closing prayer is, "To thy father leave such sports and swiftly come back to my waiting arms."

The third poem is a prayer to Phoebus on Sulpicia's illness. Apollo, the great physician, is asked to lay his healing hands upon the fair girl and to bring the soothing herbs which will restore her to health. Cerinthus is in great distress for fear his lady will die, and Apollo is implored to rack no longer the devoted lover. The poem, in the fifteenth line, becomes consolatory, and Cerinthus is comforted and told to lay aside his fears; that there is no cause for grief, for he should remember that "heaven never smites the vo-

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taries of love." In return for her recovery they two will repair to his shrine and there glad offerings render; glory and happiness shall then be Apollo's portion, and the holy gods above shall call him blessed and shall themselves long for the gifts of his healing art.

The two following are birthday verses, one written in the name of Sulpicia to the Genius of Cerinthus, the other, an address by the poet to Juno Natalis, the goddess who presides over the birthdays and destiny of women. In the former we are told the birthday of Cerinthus will ever be to Sulpicia a sacred and festal day; at his birth, the fates prophesied a new thraldom to women and to him a proud dominion. She asks that the blest Genius shall receive her gifts and graciously smile upon her love, and to desert his hearth only if he prove faithless to her. The goddess of love is implored to link them both "in one secure, indissoluble bond." She knows her bashful lover desires the same. "Oh, Genius Omniscient! thou knowest his love, whether confessed or unconfessed, smile upon us and make us blest."

In the second of these birthday poems the poetess is represented as adorning herself in honor of the goddess Juno, and paying glad

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worship at her shrine, while at the time her thoughts turn to Cerinthus whom she wishes to please,

"Est tamen, occulte cui placuisse velit."

"Yet favor, then, blest goddess now, let nought the lovers part,
But twine a chain, shall aye remain, and bind them heart to heart;
And rich the mead shall crown thy deed, for none deserves him more,
Nor e'er hath been a lovelier queen for lover to adore."

(Cranstoun)

Her mother, fearful of her welfare and, apparently, opposed to her love for Cerinthus, would seek to advise her what to will and to do, but the independent Sulpicia will not listen, for, like the swift altar flame, she glows with love for Cerinthus. The poem closes with the invocation:

"Then, goddess, deign to bless her swain; and when the year rolls round,
May the old love unchanging prove, and all her hopes be crowned."

The sixth is addressed to Venus who, listening to her songs, has brought her lover to her arms. It is an open confession of Sulpicia's

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love. She no longer wishes to hide her love and considers it more honor to openly avow it. What a blissful love hers is! The staid and prudish maids may wry their faces; but, "what do I care! of me my love is worthy, I, of him."

The seventh poem is the prettiest of the collection, possessing "the direct simplicity, the grace and warmth of natural feeling, not without a piquant admixture of the 'grata protervitas' by which the fancy of Horace was attracted" (45). In it Sulpicia complains that she is obliged to spend her birthday at Messala's villa on the banks of the Arno because of his over-zealous interest in her, instead of at Rome where she would have been so happy with Cerinthus; though she must yield to her uncle's wishes and importunate invitation, she declares her thoughts will be far away to the south where her lover is.

The whole poem is so pleasing and such a good example of her style that we cannot do better than to quote it entire:

"O dreaded natal day!
When I must stay
Beneath thy villa's cover;
The country's drear,
And what can cheer
A love without her lover?

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Where lies there a retreat
Than Rome more sweet?
Within thy house I'd shiver,
Upon the cold
Arretian wold
By the banks of Arno's river.

My dear Messala, now
Too kind art thou,
Thy care is out of season;
The road is far,
And wild winds war;
Pray, lend an ear to reason.

My senses, yea, my mind,
I'll leave behind,
If I must be your minion;
I — a poor girl —
Robbed by a churl
Even of my own opinion!"

(Cranstoun)

The next verses form a short epistle in four lines in which she joyfully writes Cerinthus that her journey has been given up and she is unexpectedly allowed to remain in Rome and to spend the day with him and expresses the hope that this day, which has taken such a happy turn for her, may be to all like a joyous festal time.

In the ninth we have the first indication of

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any unpleasantness between the two. It was occasioned by the momentary attachment of Cerinthus for a less worthy person than "Sulpicia, the daughter of Servius." If he cares more for this courtesan than for her, she reminds him that her friends evince the greatest interest in her behalf and are fearful lest she should wed beneath her station.

The next number was written to Cerinthus by Sulpicia when she was ill of a fever, and she gently questions his devotion in the following lines :

"Cerinthus, dost thou feel a tender care
For me when fever burns my weary frame?
Ah me! I cannot wish disease should spare,
Unless I think that thou desir'st the same :
For what avails recovery, if thou,
With breast unmoved, canst bear my anguish now?"

(Cranstoun)

The last of the series is a poem expressing her repentance for the cool indifference shown him the previous evening which, she assures him, was altogether occasioned by her desire to conceal the ardor of her love for him :

"Light of mine eyes! no more upon me shower

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The burning rays of love's omnipotence,
If e'er in careless youth's most foolish hour
I've rued a fault with deeper penitence
Than leaving thee all yesternight alone,
Striving to hide my love from thee, mine
own!"

(Cranstoun)

One cannot but be interested in this ancient love story, of which we have such pretty glimpses through these little poems, and also be haunted with the desire to know its sequel. Alas! no more is told us, and we can only believe that so earnest and loving a maiden must have kept her faith and purity, and that her sometime-fickle lover must have learned and valued her worth. Let us, at least, cherish the hope that hers was not the fate of the lady-troubadour of France, Beatrice de Die, who at last lost her lover, ascribing his desertion to the coolness of her conduct toward him, which she laments in those tender and plaintive lines:

"Foolishly my secret keeping,
I hid my love when he was near;
But in my heart I held him dear,
Day and night, awake and sleeping."

In the reign of Domitian, another Sulpicia wrote erotic verses in the style of Catullus

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and Calvus, celebrating the delights of conjugal love and the fascination which she exercised over her husband Calenus (46). These poems seem to have been written after her husband's death, which occurred not later than the year 98, and were dedicated to his memory.

We unfortunately possess only two lines of her poetry, which we find quoted and commented upon by Valla in the Probus-scholion to Juvenal (Sat. VI. 537) (47).

She seems to have been a versatile, clever, and no mean poetess and to have written some charming and witty verses (48). Martial speaks very enthusiastically of her in his Epigrams (49), and, according to him, her verses were chaste, sprightly and witty. All are recommended, both wives and husbands, to read them, if they wish to please each other. They do not treat of Medea's rage or of Thyestes' feast; no one is more modest, "more charmingly naughty." Her verses might be likened to the sportive words of Egeria, with which she delighted Numa in the dripping cave. With her as a schoolfellow or teacher, Sappho would have been more learned and chaste; the hard-hearted Phaon would surely have made love to her, and not to Sappho, if he had seen her; but

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in vain, for she would ever remain faithful to Calenus, though torn from him, and would scorn the bridal love even of a Jove, Bacchus, or Apollo. In Epigram X. 38 Martial speaks of the fifteen years of happy life that Sulpicia and Calenus had spent together and congratulates him upon being the husband of so estimable a woman. It is difficult to reconcile the statements of Ausonius (50) and Fulgentius (51), that her verses were rather wanton in tone, with Martial's estimate of her. I cannot believe it possible that the latter was satirical, when he speaks of the purity of her love verses and the constancy of her affection for Calenus.

There is extant a rather dull poem, containing, however, a few pretty lines at its close, ordinarily entitled Sulpiciae Satira. It has seventy hexameters and is in the form of a dialogue between Sulpicia and the Muse Calliope. It was for years unreservedly ascribed to Sulpicia (her husband Calenus is mentioned in line 62), and was supposed to have appeared very soon after Domitian's edict in 94 A. D., banishing from Rome and Italy all the philosophers including such men as Junius Arulenus Rusticus, Herennius Senecio, Artemidorus, Demetrius, Epictetus and Dion Chrysostom. It is now thought by

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most scholars to have been a forgery and, according to Teuffel-Schwabe, was probably an elaboration of some school theme by a much later writer, being merely brought out under the mask of Sulpicia as is shown by the "clumsy and insipid language, the absence of characteristic traits such as a contemporary writer would have had at command and the oddities in metre and diction" (52). It has been placed in different centuries and has even been ascribed to Ausonius. The Dutch scholar Boot, Bücheler and others hold that it belongs to a time as late as the fifteenth century. If it be a genuine production of Sulpicia Caleni, it exhibits a remarkable boldness and frankness of speech toward the tyrant Domitian, whom she calls a glutton and describes as one "non trabe sed tergo prolapsus" (53).

The poem, the text of which is in many places hopelessly corrupt, was discovered in the monastery of Bobbio (54) near Genoa in the year 1493 and was taken from there by George Merula, and published at Venice in 1498 by Bernhard Venetus, along with Latin poems by John Pontanus, Francescus Octavius and others, under the title, "Sulpitiae Carmina, quae fuit Domitiani temporibus: nuper Georgio Merula Alexandrino cum aliis

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opusculis reperta" (55). This Satira, which imitates Vergil and Horace, is a lament on the reign of Domitian and the state of the empire, and is a protest against the expulsion of the philosophers. It begins with an invocation to the Muse to assist her in the composition of the poem which, she says, she wishes to write, not in the hendecasyllabics of Phalaecus, the iambics of Archilochus, nor the choliambics of Hipponax of Clazomenae, the ordinary vehicles of biting satire, but in grand epic verse. The key-note of the whole poem, is that Rome's greatness in the past has been due to valor in war and wisdom in time of peace ; and that the present long and fatal peace and the banishment of the philosophers, the source of all true wisdom, will end in her destruction. She, like Cato of old, decries the enervating peace and prays for adversity and reverses of fortune, to reawaken Rome from her lethargic effeminacy and make her strong again, using as an illustration the Fable of the Wasps, as once told to Scipio the younger by the elder Cato.

[Her contemporary Juvenal repeats the same strain : " Now we are suffering all the evils of long-continued peace. Luxury, more ruthless than war, broods over Rome and exacts vengeance for a conquered world"] (56).

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These are awful days at Rome when the good and the virtuous have been driven from her walls by the tyranny of the Emperor, and the poetess prays the Muse to warn the Romans to emigrate, like the Smyrniotes of old, and go to a fairer land. Do not allow, she begs, Calenus to remain in Rome, or even in the vicinity on his delightful Sabine farm. Calliope, in reply, speaks words of comfort to her votary and promises that swift vengeance will soon overtake Domitian in his cruelty and crime, and flatteringly prophesies for this poem of lamentation lasting fame.

The court poetess of the Emperor Hadrian was Julia Balbilla (57) who accompanied him and his wife Sabina on their Eastern travels and with them paid a visit, Nov. 130 A. D., to the famous vocal statue of Memnon. (58) She is still known to the world by the Greek verses (59) which she then wrote and which were inscribed upon it.

On one occasion, the statue, it seems, was obstinately silent and would give forth no sound. Sabina was accordingly very much chagrined, and Balbilla warns the Colossus not to enrage the Emperor by "keeping his revered wife waiting so long." However, when they visited the wonderful Memnon another time, he was very gracious, recogniz-

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ing Hadrian "the universal monarch" and giving three separate exhibitions of his miraculous powers. Balbilla then expresses their delight in some of her choicest verses which can still be read upon the left leg of the great statue.

Balbilla was of senatorial rank and in her verses she boasts of being related to Claudius Balbillus, governor of Egypt under Nero, and to the princely house of Antiochus of Syria. The city of Tauromenium erected a statue in her honor at Rome, on which she is described as a woman "distinguished in every virtue, for her good-sense and wisdom" (60).

For the text of her verses consult Appendix (61).

There are also verses of a Caecilia Trebulla inscribed on this same statue of Memnon (62), which show, at least, a kindly, unselfish heart. When Trebulla first heard Memnon's sacred voice, she longed for her mother that she might hear him too. She later paid a second visit to the statue accompanied by some friends and writes that he greeted the party as old acquaintances. She refers to Memnon as the son of Eos and Tithonus and, in closing, asks: "Did Nature, the artificer of the universe, give to a stone perception and a voice?"

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Her third effusion assigns the cause of the tinkling sounds to Memnon's grieving over the maltreatment inflicted by "that great Persian conqueror, Cam byses." Cf. Pausanias, I. 42.

There have been preserved to us sixteen elegiac couplets by Eucheria poetria (63) in quite a number of MSS., most of them found in France, some dating from the 9th century (64). We know very little of Eucheria; she lived in the 7th century A. D., whether in France or Spain is uncertain. Her mention of the iron mines near Langres, in the ninth line, and the fact that the name Eucherius was common in France at that period would point to this country as her home. But poetry was little cultivated in France in the 7th century and the greatest literary activity of the time was displayed in the Spanish kingdom of the Visigoths, encouraged by such men as Isidore, Bishop of Seville and the Bishops of Toledo, Eugenius and Julian,—Julian quotes line 31 of this poem. These considerations give some ground for the supposition that she was a native or resident of Spain.

The poem (65) seems to have been occasioned by the proposal of an unworthy and importunate suitor whom Eucheria styles a

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boorish serf. She indignantly rejects him, and, by associating together a great number of grotesque and incongruous objects, declares that their union would be as appropriate as his with her; for instance she writes:

Let the nettles have the lilies as their brides, and the noisome laserpitium juice infect the sweet rose wine; let crystal water love to unite with the muddy deep, and the swift-winged swallow sport with the dismal vulture, before Eucheria be married to such a rustic, such a slave!

The following lines from Vergil's Eclogue (VIII. 26–28)

Mopso Nisa datur: quid non speremus amantes?
Jungentur iam grypes equis; aevoque sequenti
Cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula damae (66).

very probably suggested to Eucheria the idea of her composition. "In tone and spirit it bears some resemblance to the Ibis (of Ovid) and to the Dirae of Valerius Cato."(Ramsay)

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CHAPTER V.

HISTORY.

The only historical work of a Roman woman, of which we have any definite account, is that written by the beautiful, arrogant, ambitious and most wicked Empress Agrippina, the Younger, both niece and wife of Claudius and mother of Nero. She wrote Commentaries or Memoirs on her own life and the fortunes of her family, which seem to have been published before Nero's accession to the throne, that is before 54 A. D. This very valuable, but no longer extant, work was used by Tacitus himself, as he states in his great history of the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero. After describing the interview between the elder Agrippina and Tiberius, her urgent request to be allowed to marry again, and the Emperor's refusal to answer her, as he detected the political aims of her petition, Tacitus then adds: "This incident, not mentioned by any historian, I have found in the Memoirs of her daughter Agrippina, the mother of the Emperor Nero, who handed down to posterity an account of

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her life and of the misfortunes of her family" (67).

Pliny in his Natural History (in a chapter on monstrous births) also alludes to these Memoirs (68).

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APPENDIX.

1. Livy, I. 13.

2. According to Plutarch, Dionysius Hal. and Macrobius she was the wife of Hostilius, but according to another account in Plutarch and in Livy I. 11, where she intercedes successfully for the people of Antemnæ, she is called the wife of Romulus.

3. Plutarch, Romulus c. 19: "*Τί γὰρ (ἔφασαν) ὑμᾶς δεινὸν ἢ λυπηρὸν ἐργασάμεναι, τὰ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθαμεν, τὰ δὲ πάσχομεν τῶν σχετλίων κακῶν; Ἡρπάσθημεν ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐχόντων βίᾳ καὶ παρανόμως, ἁρπασθεῖσαι δ' ἠμελήθημεν ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ πατέρων καὶ οἰκείων χρόνον τοσοῦτον, ὅσος ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰ ἔχθιστα κεράσας ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις πεπυίηκε νῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν βιασαμένων καὶ παρανομησάντων δεδιέναι μαχομένων καὶ κλαίειν θνησκόντων. Οὐ γὰρ ἤλθετε τιμωρήσοντες ἡμῖν παρθένοις οὔσαις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀνδρῶν ἀποσπᾶτε γαμετὰς καὶ τέκνων μητέρας, οἰκτροτέραν βοήθειαν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀμελείας καὶ προδοσίας βοηθοῦντος ἡμῖν ταῖς ἀθλίαις. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἠγαπήθημεν ὑπὸ τούτων, τοιαῦτα δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐλεούμεθα. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἐμάχεσθε,*

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παύσασθαι δι' ἡμᾶς πενθεροὺς γεγονότας καὶ πάππους καὶ οἰκείους ὄντας ἐχρῆν. Εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμός ἐστι, κομίσασθε ἡμᾶς μετὰ γαμβρῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ ἀπόδοτε ἡμῖν πατέρας καὶ οἰκείους, μηδὲ ἀφέλησθε παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας. Ἱκετεύομεν ὑμᾶς μὴ πάλιν αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι.'' Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τῆς Ἑρσιλίας προαγορευούσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεομένων ἐσπείσθησαν ἀνοχαὶ καὶ συνῆλθον εἰς λόγους οἱ ἡγεμόνες. (Edition of Sintenis.)

4. Leland's Etruscan Roman Remains.

5. Plutarch, whom Shakspere follows, calls Coriolanus' mother, Volumnia, and his wife, Virgilia.

6. Livy, VI. 34.

7. Plutarch, Pompey c. 55, says: "The young woman possessed many charms besides her youthful beauty, for she was well instructed in letters, in playing on the lyre, and in geometry, and she had been accustomed to listen to philosophical* discussions with profit."

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*Roman women greatly interested themselves in philosophical studies (as also in mathematics and astronomy), though we know of no philosophical work composed by any one of them. Caerellia, Cicero's friend, was a most enthusiastic student of philosophy. (Cf. ad Atticum, XIII. 21, 5.)

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8. E. g. Plancina, wife of Cn. Piso, governor of Syria, and Cornelia, wife of Calvisius Sabinus, governor of Pannonia.

9. Caligula called her "Ulysses in woman's clothes." (Suetonius' Calig. c. 23).

10. Id. Augustus, c. 84.

11. The letter of Sidonius Apollinaris to

Martial represents the poetess, Theophila, as equally versed in the Epicurean and Stoic systems.

In a work ascribed to Galen (De Theriaca ad Pisonem) we read of a woman, a friend of the author, named Arria, who was highly esteemed for her work in philosophy, particularly in Plato. Menage, in his Dissertation on Women Philosophers, holds that she is the same one, to whom Diogenes Laertius dedicated his Lives of the Philosophers.

The wife of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, devoted much time to philosophical pursuits and the sciences, surrounding herself with philosophers, mathematicians and rhetoricians; and it is said, that Philostratus, one of this number, wrote at her command the Life of the Pythagorean Apollonius of Tyana.

Plotinus, the founder of Neo-Platonism, during his stay in Rome (after 244 A. D.), found numerous and most earnest pupils among the women, and that, too, those of the higher classes, e. g. the Empress Salonina. His great pupil, Porphyry, in his old age, married Marcella, among other reasons because of her remarkable philosophical endowments. (Porphyry ad Marcellam, c. 1–9). See Friedlaender, pp. 496–499.

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Hesperius (Ep. II. 10) might here be fittingly quoted : Tu modo fac memineris multiplicato me faenore remunerandum, quoque id facilius possis voluptuosiusque, opus est ut sine dissimulatione lectites, sine fine lecturias ; neque patiaris, ut te ab hoc proposito propediem conjunx domum feliciter ducenda deflectat, sisque oppido meminens, quod olim Marcia Hortensio, Terentia Tullio, Calpurnia Plinio, Pudentilla Apuleio, Rusticiana Symmacho legentibus meditantibusque candelas et candelabra tenuerunt. certe si praeter oratoriam contubernio feminarum poeticum ingenium et oris tui limam frequentium studiorum cotibus expolitam quereris obtundi reminiscere, quod saepe versum Corinna cum suo Nasone complevit, Lesbia cum Catullo,Caesennia cum Gaetulico, Argentaria cum Lucano, Cynthia cum Propertio, Delia cum Tibullo, proinde liquido claret studentibus discendi per nuptias occasionem tribui, desidibus excusationem igitur incumbe, neque apud te litterariam curam turba depretiet imperitorum, quia natura comparatum est, ut in omnibus artibus hoc sit scientiae pretiosior pompo, quo rarior. vale. (Luetjohann's Edition.)

12. St. Augustine, in speaking of her in his dialogue (De Beata Vita, 10), in which she

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appears as a most learned interlocutor, says: "We fairly forgot her sex and thought that some great man was in our circle."

13. Its ruins were recently (March, 1893) excavated and brought to light.

14. Jerome: "I must say, however strange it may seem, that Paula has learned with ease thoroughly that Hebrew language which it cost me so much labor to acquire in my youth, and which I must study constantly for fear of losing my knowledge of it." And again in his preface to his translation of Esther: "Paula and Eustochim, you are so familiar with Hebrew literature, and so skilled in judging of the merits of a translation, go over this one carefully, word by word, so as to discover where I have added or omitted anything which is not in the original Hebrew."

15 Stillé: "Instructions of the minutest kind given by him for this work still exist."

16. Brutus, LVIII. 211.

17. Id. XXVII. 104.

18. Inst. Orat. I. 1, 6. Plutarch, also, in his life of C. Gracchus makes reference to her letters.

19. Cruttwell.

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20. De Or. III. 60, 225.

21. *Libri mss. Corn. Nep. in fine* Verba ex epistula Corneliae Gracchorum matris ex libro Cornelii Nepotis de Latinis historicis excerpta : Dices pulchrum esse inimicos ulcisci. id neque maius neque pulchrius cuiquam atque mihi esse uidetur, sed si liceat republica salua ea persequi. sed quatenus id fieri non potest, multo tempore multisque partibus inimici nostri non peribunt atque, uti nunc sunt, erunt potius quam res publica profligetur atque pereat.

Eadem alio loco : Verbis conceptis deierare ausim, praeterquam qui Tiberium Gracchum necarunt, neminem inimicum tantum molestiae tantumque laboris, quantum te ob has res, mihi tradidisse ; quem oportebat omnium meorum, quos antehac habui liberos, partis [eorum] tolerare atque curare, ut quam minimum sollicitudinis in senecta haberem, utique, quaecunque ageres, ea uelles maxime mihi placere, atque uti nefas haberes rerum maiorum aduersum meam sententiam quicquam facere, praesertim mihi, cui parua pars uitae superest. ne id quidem tam breve spatium potest opitulari, quin et mihi aduersere et rem publicam profliges? denique quae pausa erit? ecquando desinet familia nostra

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insanire? ecquando modus ei rei haberi poterit? ecquando desinemus et habentes et praebentes molestiis insistere? ecquando perpudescet miscenda atque perturbanda re publica? Sed si omnino id fieri non potest, ubi ego mortua ero, petito tribunatum: per me facito quod lubebit, cum ego non sentiam ubi mortua ero, parentabis mihi et inuocabis deum parentem. in eo tempore non pudet te eorum deum preces expetere, quos uiuos atque praesentes relictos atque desertos habueris? ne ille sirit Iupiter te ea perseuerare, nec tibi tantam dementiam uenire in animum! et si perseueras, uereor, ne in omnem uitam tantum laboris culpa tua recipias, uti in nullo tempore tute tibi placere possis. [Peter's Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta.] These fragments are preserved in the MSS. of Cornelius Nepos under the heading De Latinis Historicis, but they, probably, belong to a lost book, De Oratoribus Romanis. In recent times their genuineness has been questioned by A. G. Lange (Vermischte Schriften), J. Soergel (Blätter für das bayerische Gymnasialschulwesen, 1866) and others, but with no good reason. Teuffel (I. p. 179) with truth says: "A rhetor would have made the mother of the Gracchi rather declaim for liberty and for revenge against the murder-

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ers of her son's brother ; but he would never have succeeded in combining the manly energy of an old Roman with a woman's tenderness and carelessness of style."

22. Plutarch : "Some say, his mother on this occasion entered into the intrigues of the party, and having privately taken some strangers into pay, sent them into Rome in the disguise of reapers ; and they assert that these things are enigmatically hinted at in her letters to her son. But others say, Cornelia was much displeased at these measures."

23. The base of her statue was found in 1878 in the Opera Octaviae, with the following inscription: CORNELIA | AFRICANI· F | GRACCHORUM.

24. It was on this occasion that the plebeian tribune Valerius, who favored the repeal of the law, in reply to Cato's illiberal speech, recounted the heroic self-sacrifice and glorious services of women in Roman history. Cf. Livy, XXXIV. 5.

25. Val. Maximus, VIII. 3: Ne de his quidem feminis tacendum est, quas conditio naturae, et verecundiae stola, ut in foro et judiciis tacerent, cohibere non valuit.

(1) Amaesia Sentia, rea, causam suam, L.

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Titio praetore judicium cogente, maximo populi concursu egit: partesque omnes ac numeros defensionis non solum diligenter, sed etiam fortiter exsecuta, et prima actione, et paene cunctis sententiis, liberata est. Quam, quia sub specie feminae virilem animum gerebat, Androgynen appellabant.

(2) G. vero Afrania, Licinii Buccionis senatoris uxor, promta ad lites contrahendas pro se semper apud praetorem verba fecit; non quod advocatis deficiebatur, sed quod impudentia abundabat. Itaque, inusitatis foro latratibus assidue tribunalia exercendo, muliebris calumniae notissimum evasit examplum; adeo ut, pro crimine, improbis feminarum moribus G. Afraniae nomen objiciatur. Prorogavit autem spiritum suum ad C. Caesarum iterum, et P. Servilium coss. Tale enim monstrum, magis, quo tempore exstinctum, quam quo sit ortum, memoriae tradendum est.

(3) Hortensia vero, Q. Hortensii filia, cum ordo matronarum gravi tributo a triumviris esset oneratus, nec quisquam virorum patrocinium eis accommodare auderet, causam feminarum apud triumviros et constanter et feliciter egit. Repraesentata enim patris facundia, impetravit ut major pars imperatae pecuniae his remitteretur. Revixit tum mul-

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iebri stirpe Q. Hortensius, verbisque filiae adspiravit: cujus si virilis sexus posteri vim sequi voluissent, Hortensianae eloquentiae tanta haereditas una feminae actione abscisa non esset. (Kapp's Ed.)

26. "Women support the Bar; they love the law,
And raise litigious questions for a straw;
They meet in private, and prepare the Bill,
Draw up the Instructions with a lawyer's skill,
Suggest to Celsus where the merits lie,
And dictate points for statement or reply." (Gifford)

27. Quintilian, Inst. Or. I. 1, 6.

28. Appian, Bell. Civ. IV. 32–34:—*Καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντες προύγραφον χιλίας καὶ τετρακοσίας γυναῖκας, αἳ μάλιστα πλούτῳ διέφερον· καὶ αὐτὰς ἔδει, τὰ ὄντα τιμωμένας, ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας ὅσον ἑκάστην οἱ τρεῖς δοκιμάσειαν. ἐπέκειτό τε ταῖς ἀποκρυψαμέναις τι τῶν ὄντων ἢ τιμησαμέναις κακῶς ἐπιτίμια, καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα μηνύουσιν ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ δούλοις μήνυτρα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἔκριναν τῶν προσηκουσῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι γυναικῶν δεηθῆναι. τῆς μὲν δὴ Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἀπετύγχανον,*

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οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντωνίου· Φουλβίας δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, τῶν θυρῶν ἀπωθούμεναι χαλεπῶς τὴν ὕβριν ἤνεγκαν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἀρχόντων ὠσάμεναι, διεσταμένου τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἔλεγον, Ὀρτησίας ἐς τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένης, "ὃ μὲν ἥρμοζε δεομέναις ὑμῶν γυναιξὶ τοιαῖσδε, ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν κατεφύγομεν· ὃ δὲ οὐχ ἥρμοζεν ὑπὸ Φουλβίας παθοῦσαι, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεώσμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῆς. ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμᾶς ἀφείλεσθε μὲν ἤδη γονέας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἀδελφούς, ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἠδίκησθε· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσαφέλοισθε, περιστήσετε ἐς ἀπρέπειαν ἀναξίαν γένους καὶ τρόπων καὶ φύσεως γυναικείας. εἰ μὲν δή τι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οἷον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἠδικῆσθαί φατε, προγράψατε καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκείνους. εἰ δὲ οὐδένα ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε πολέμιον ἐψηφισάμεθα οὔτε καθείλομεν οἰκίαν, ἢ στρατὸν διεφθείραμεν ἢ ἐπηγάγομεν ἕτερον, ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς τυχεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν, τί κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν κολάσεων αἱ τῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐ μετασχοῦσαι; τί δὲ ἐσφέρομεν αἱ μήτε ἀρχῆς μήτε τιμῆς μήτε στρατηγίας μήτε τῆς πολιτείας ὅλως, τῆς ὑμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη κακοῦ περιμαχήτου, μετέχουσαι; ὅτι φατὲ πόλεμον εἶναι; καὶ πότε οὐ γεγόνασι πόλεμοι; καὶ πότε γυναῖκες συνεσήνεγκαν; ἃς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἀπολύει παρ' ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, αἱ δὲ μητέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἐσήνεγκάν ποτε ἅπαξ, ὅτε ἐκινδυνεύετε περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ πάσῃ καὶ περὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, Καρχηδονίων ἐνοχλούντων. καὶ τότε δὲ ἐσήνεγκαν ἑκοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἢ χωρίων ἢ προικὸς ἢ οἰκιῶν, ὧν χωρὶς ἀβίωτόν ἐστιν

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ἐλευθέραις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν οἴκοι κόσμων, οὐδὲ τούτων τιμωμένων, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ μηνυταῖς ἢ κατηγόροις, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἢ βίαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐβούλοντο αὐταί. τίς οὖν καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φόβος; ἴτω τοίνυν ἢ Κελτῶν πόλεμος ἢ Παρθυαίων, καὶ οὐ χείρους ἐς σωτηρίαν ἐσόμεθα τῶν μετέρων. ἐς δὲ ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενέγκαιμέν ποτε μήτε συμπράξαιμεν ὑμῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος ἢ Πομπηίου συνεφέρομεν, οὐδὲ Μάριος ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ Κίνναν ἠνάγκασεν, οὐδὲ Σύλλας ὁ τυραννήσας τῆς πατρίδος· ὑμεῖς δέ φατε καὶ καθίστασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν."

Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀρτησίας λεγούσης, οἱ τρεῖς ἠγανάκτουν εἰ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἡσυχαζόντων θρασυνοῦνταί τε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσουσι, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξετάσουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν στρατευομένων αὐταὶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐσοίσουσιν. ἐκέλευόν τε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐξωθεῖν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, μέχρι, βοῆς ἔξωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης, οἵ τε ὑπηρέται τὸ ἔργον ἐπέσχον καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔφασαν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀνατίθεσθαι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τετρακοσίας μὲν ἀντὶ χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων προύγραφον ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα, κ. τ. λ. (Edition of Mendelssohn.)

29. See Duruy's History of Rome.

30. Teuffel-Schwabe: "Pontacus gives her name as Eunomia, probably in accordance with Anth. Lat. 767 (from Paris, 8319 s.

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XI.) 'Laus domnae Eunomiae sacrae virginis' and 768, 'item laus Eunomiae.' In these poems she is praised as a Christian maiden and as fecunda libris (768, 2 : cf. 767, 3 alta sapis . . . . profunda rimaris."

The scholiast to Juvenal (Sat. VI. 434) states that Statilia Messalina, Nero's third wife, distinguished for her wealth, beauty and intellectual powers, gave serious study, after the Emperor's death, to the art of eloquence and rhetoric.

31. According to Aelian, Corinna defeated Pindar five times, but Pausanias mentions only one victory.

32. Probably was the Q. Cornificius, friend of Cicero, (cf. ad Fam. XII. 17–30) who places him among the great orators (XII. 18, 1), as well as of Catullus who addresses to him c. 38. Cornificius, like his sister, was also a poet, one of his productions being a poem in hexameter verse on Glaucus. He was Caesar's quaestor and propraetor, and was killed in Africa during the campaign against T. Sextius. Some have wrongly supposed that he was the Cornificius Gallus of the reign of Augustus, an enemy, and per verse and pedantic detractor, of Vergil.

33. Propertius, I. 2, 27 :

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Cum tibi praesertim Phoebus sua carmina donet
Aeoniamque libens Calliopea lyram,
Unica nec desit iocundis gratia verbis,
Omnia quaeque Venus quaeque Minerva probat.

34. Id. II. 3, 19 :

Et quantum, Aeolio cum temptat carmina plectro,
Par Aganippeae ludere docta lyrae,
Et sua cum antiquae conmittit scripta Corinnae
Carminaque Erinnes, non putat aequa suis.

35. Vade salutatum, subito perarata, Perillam,
Littera, sermonis fida ministra mei !
Aut illam invenies dulci cum matre sedentem,
Aut inter libros Pieridasque suas.
Quicquid aget, cum te scierit venisse, relinquet, 5
Nec mora, quid venias quidve, requiret, agam.
Vivere me dices, sed sic, ut vivere nolim,
Nec mala tam longa nostra levata mora ;
Et tamen ad Musas, quamvis nocuere, reverti,
Aptaque in alternos cogere verba pedes. 10
Tu quoque, dic, studiis communibus ecquid inhaeres,
Doctaque non patrio carmina more canis ?

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Nam tibi cum fatis mores natura pudicos
Et raras dotes ingeniumque dedit.
Hoc ego Pegasidas deduxi primus ad undas, 15
Ne male fecundae vena periret aquae ;
Primus id aspexi teneris in virginis annis,
Utque pater natae duxque comesque fui.
Ergo si remanent ignes tibi pectoris idem,
Sola tuum vates Lesbia vincet opus. 20
Sed vereor, ne te mea nunc fortuna retardet,
Postque meos casus sit tibi pectus iners.
Dum licuit, tua saepe mihi, tibi nostra legebam ;
Saepe tui iudex, saepe magister eram :
Aut ego praebebam, factis modo versibus aures, 25
Aut, ubi cessares, causa ruboris eram.
Forsitan exemplo, quia me laesere libelli,
Tu quoque sis poenae facta secuta meae.
Pone, Perilla, metum ; tantummodo femina nulla
Neve vir a scriptis discat amare tuis ! 30
Ergo desidiae remove, doctissima, causas,
Inque bonas artes et tua sacra redi !
Ista decens facies longis vitiabitur annis,
Rugaque in antiqua fronte senilis erit ;
Inicietque manum formae damnosa senectus 35
Quae strepitum passu non faciente venit;

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Cumque aliquis dicet 'Fuit haec formosa,'
dolebis,
Et speculum mendax esse querere tuum.
Sunt tibi opes modicae, cum sis dignissima
magnis:
Finge sed inmensis censibus esse pares; 40
Nempe dat id, quodcumque libet, fortuna
rapitque;
Pectoris exceptis ingeniique bonis.
En ego, cum caream patria vobisque do-
moque, 45
Raptaque sint, adimi quae potuere mihi,
Ingenio tamen ipse meo comitorque fruorque:
Caesar in hoc potuit iuris habere nihil.
Quilibet hanc saevo vitam mihi finiat ense;
Me tamen extincto fama superstes erit, 50
Dumque suis victrix omnem de montibus or-
bem
Prospiciet domitum Martia Roma, legar.
Tu quoque, quam studii maneat felicior usus,
Effuge venturos, qua potes, usque rogos!
(Merkel's Ed.)

36. Martial, Epigr. VII. 69. Probably this was written to be inscribed on a statue or portrait of Theophila.

37. Munro and Friedländer are of the opinion, however, that *haec* refers to Theophila and *illa* to Pantaenis.

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38. Otherwise unknown ; may be a former wife of Canius, though I am aware that a different explanation of this passage has been given by Munro and others. They assume that Canius Rufus composed a poem on Sappho and the Lesbian maidens, the heroine of which was Pantaenis, a poetess and member of the Sapphic Circle.

39. Simcox.
40. Sellar.

41. The MSS. divide the Tibulline collection of poems into three books, but in most editions the third book, which contains the poems of the several members of the Circle of Messala, is subdivided, thus making a fourth.

42. Cf. allusions to her in No. 6, line 2, and No. 7, line 3.
43. Cf. Poem X. Probably Horace's friend Servius, from whom she may have inherited her poetical talent.
44. El. II. 2 and 3*. The first on Cerinthus' birthday ; the other on the occasion of Nemesis leaving for the country.

45. Sellar, Horace and the Elegiac Poets.

*Some read Cornutus instead of Cerinthus.

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Text of the eleven poems from the edition of Lucian Müller :—

Lib. IIII.

II. (1)

Sulpiciast tibi culta tuis, Mars magne kalendis :
  Spectatum e caelo, si sapis, ipse veni.
Hoc Venus ignoscet : at tu, violente, caveto
  Ne tibi miranti turpiter arma cadant.
Illius ex oculis, cum volt exurere divos, 5
  Accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor.
Illam, quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia movit,
  Conponit furtim subsequiturque Decor.
Seu solvit crines, fusis decet esse capillis :
  Seu compsit,comptis est veneranda comis. 10
Vrit, seu Tyria voluit procedere palla :
  Vrit, seu nivea candida veste venit.
Talis in aeterno felix Vertumnus Olympo
  Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.
Sola puellarum dignast, cui mollia caris 15
  Vellera det sucis bis madefacto Tyros,
Possideatque, metit quidquid bene olentibus arvis
  Cultor odoratae dives Arabs segetis
Et quascumque niger rubro de litore gemmas
  Proximus Eois colligit Indus aquis. 20
Hanc vos, Pierides, festis cantate kalendis,
  Et testudinea Phoebe superbe lyra.

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Hoc solemne sacrum multos haec sumat in annos :
Dignior est vestro nulla puella choro.

III. (2)

Parce meo iuveni, seu quis bona pascua campi
Seu colis umbrosi devia montis aper,
Nec tibi sit duros acuisse in proelia dentes.
Incolumem custos hunc mihi servet Amor.
Sed procul abducit venandi Delia cura : 5
O pereant silvae, deficiantque canes !
Quis furor est, quae mens, densos indagine colles
Claudentem teneras laedere velle manus ?
Quidve iuvat furtim latebras intrare ferarum
Candidaque hamatis crura notare rubis ? 10
Sed tamen, ut tecum liceat, Cerinthe, vagari,
Ipsa ego per montes retia torta feram,
Ipsa ego velocis quaeram vestigia cervi
Et demam celeri ferrea vincla cani.
Tunc mihi, tunc placeant silvae, si, lux mea, tecum 15
Arguar ante ipsas concubuisse plagas :
Tunc veniat licet ad casses, inlaesus abibit,
Ne Veneris cupidae gaudia turbet, aper.
Nunc sine me sit nulla Venus, sed lege Dianae,
Caste puer, casta retia tange manu : 20

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Et quaecumque meo furtim subrepit amori,
  Incidat in saevas diripienda feras.
At tu venandi studium concede parenti,
  Et celer in nostros ipse recurre sinus.

IIII. (3)

Huc ades et tenerae morbos expelle puellae,
  Huc ades, intonsa Phoebe superbe coma.
Crede mihi, propera: nec te iam, Phoebe, pigebit
  Formosae medicas adplicuisse manus.
Effice ne macies pallentes occupet artus, 5
  Neu notet informis candida membra color,
Et quodcumque malist et quidquid triste timemus,
  In pelagus rapidis evehat amnis aquis.
Sancte, veni, tecumque feras, quicumque sapores,
Quicumque et cantus corpora fessa levant: 10
Neu iuvenem torque, metuit qui fata puellae
  Votaque pro domina vix numeranda facit.
Interdum votet, interdum, quod langueat illa,
  Dicit in aeternos aspera verba deos.
Pone metum, Cerinthe; deus non laedit amantes. 15
  Tu modo semper ama: salva puella tibist.
Nil opus est fletu: lacrimis erit aptius uti, 21
  Si quando fuerit tristior illa tibi. 22

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At nunc tota tuast, te solum candida secum
Cogitat, et frustra credula turba sedet.
Phoebe, fave ; laus magna tibi tribuetur in uno
Corpore servato restituisse duos. 20
Iam celeber, iam laetus eris cum debita reddet
Certatim sanctis laetus uterque focis.
Tunc te felicem dicet pia turba deorum, 25
Optabant artes et sibi quisque tuas.

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v. (4)

Qui mihi te, Cerinthe, dies dedit, hic mihi sanctus
Atque inter festos semper habendus erit.
Te nascente novum Parcae cecinere puellis
Servitum et dederunt regna superba tibi.
Vror ego ante alias: iuvat hoc, Cerinthe, quod uror, 5
Si tibi de nobis mutuus ignis adest.
Mutuus adsit amor, per te dulcissima furta
Perque tuos oculos per Geniumque rogo.
Magne Geni, cape tura libens votisque faveto,
Si modo, cum de me cogitat, ille calet, 10
Quod si forte alios iam nunc suspirat amores,
Tunc precor infidos, sancte, relinque focos.
Nec tu sis iniusta, Venus: vel serviat aeque
Vinctus uterque tibi, vel mea vincla leva.
Sed potius valida teneamur uterque catena, 15
Nulla queat posthac nos soluisse dies.

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Optat idem iuvenis quod nos, sed tectius optat :
Nam pudet haec illum dicere verba palam.
At tu, Natalis, quoniam deus omnia sentis,
Adnue; quid refert,clamne palamne roget?20

VI. (5)

Natalis Iuno, sanctos cape turis acervos,
Quos tibi dat tenera docta puella manu,
Lota tibist hodie, tibi se laetissima compsit,
Staret ut ante tuos conspicienda focos.
Illa quidem ornandi causas tibi, diva, relegat: 5
Est tamen, occulte cui placuisse velit.
At tu, sancta, fave, neuquis divellat amantes,
Sed iuveni quaeso mutua vincla para.
Sic bene conpones : ullae non ille puellae
Servire aut cuiquam dignior illa viro. 10
Nec possit cupidos vigilans deprendere custos,
Fallendique vias mille ministret Amor.
Adnue purpureaque veni perlucida palla :
Ter tibi fit libo, ter, dea casta, mero.
Praecipiat natae mater studiosa, quod optet ; 15
Illa aliud tacita, iam sua, mente rogat,
Vritur, ut celeres urunt altaria flammae,
Nec, liceat quamvis, sana fuisse velit.

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Sit iuveni gratum : veniet cum proximus annus,
Hic idem votis iam vetus adsit amor. 20

VII. (6)

Tandem venit amor : qualem texisse pudori
Quam nudasse alicui sit mihi fama magis.
Exorata meis illum Cytherea Camenis
Attulit in nostrum deposuitque sinum.
Exolvit promissa Venus: mea gaudia narret, 5
Dicetur siquis non habuisse sua.
Non ego signatis quicquam mandare tabellis,
Ne legat id nemo quam meus ante. velim,
Sed peccasse iuvat, voltus conponere famae
Taedet : cum digno digna fuisse ferar. 10

VIII. (7)

Invisus natalis adest, qui rure molesto
Et sine Cerintho tristis agendus erit.
Dulcius urbe quid est? an villa sit apta puellae
Atque Arretino frigidus amnis agro?
Iam, nimium Messala mei studiose, quiescas, 5
Non tempestivae saepe propinque viae.
Hic animum sensusque meos abducta relinquo,
Arbitrio quoniam non sinis esse meo.

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IX. (8)

Scis iter ex animo sublatum triste puellae?
  Natali Romae iam licet esse tuo.
Omnibus ille dies nobis genialis agatur,
  Qui nec opinanti nunc tibi forte venit.

X. (9)

Gratumst, securus multum quod iam tibi de me
  Permittis, subito ne male inepta cadam,
Si tibi cura togae potior pressumque quasillo
  Scortum quam Servi filia Sulpicia:
Solliciti sunt pro nobis, quibus illa doloris, 5
  Ne cedam ignoto, maxima causa, toro.

XI. (10)

Estne tibi, Cerinthe, tuae pia cura puellae,
  Quod mea nunc vexat corpora fessa color?
A ego non aliter tristes evincere, morbos
  Optarim, quam te si quoque velle putem.
At mihi quid prosit morbos evincere, cum tu 5
  Nostra potes lento pectore ferre mala?

XII. (11)

Ne tibi sim, mea lux, aeque iam fervida cura,
  Ac videor paucos ante fuisse dies,

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Sic quicquam tota conmisi stulta iuventa,
  Cuius me fatear paenituisse magis,
Hesterna quam te solum quod nocte reliqui,5
  Ardorem cupiens dissimulare meum.

---

46. He was probably of the Fufian gens, as Calenus was the cognomen of Quintus Fufus, who was Consul in 47 B. C.

47. De cadurco: . . . . . est instita qua lectus intenditur, unde ait Sulpicia:

" Lux me cadurci dissolutis fasciis
  nudam Caleno concubantem proferat."
  (Baehrens' reading).

These two lines are in senarii, but we are informed that she also wrote choliambics and phalaeceans.

48. Ribbeck: " Die charactervolle Leidenschaft dieser interessanten Frau erinnert an Sappho, Ton und Gesinnung ihrer Gedichte waren so edel und rein, dass Martial sie grade keuschen Mädchen und treuen Ehemännern warm empfiehlt: natürlich lag ihm der Gedanke an prüde Leser fern. Noch im vierten und fünften Jahrhundert wurden sie gelesen und galten Männern wie Ausonius und Apollinaris Sidonius für klassisch."

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49. Epigr. X. 35 :

Omnes Sulpiciam legant puellae,
Uni quae cupiunt viro placere ;
Omnes Sulpiciam legant mariti,
Uni quae cupiunt placere nuptae.
Non haec Colchidos asserit furorem,
Diri prandia nec refert Thyestae ;
Scyllam, Byblida nec fuisse credit,
Sed castos docet et pios amores,
Lusus, delicias facetiasque.
Cuius carmina qui bene aestimarit,
Nullam dixerit esse sanctiorem,
Nullam dixerit esse nequiorem,
Tales Egeriae iocos fuisse
Udo crediderim Numae sub antro.
Hac condiscipula vel hac magistra
Esses doctior et pudica, Sappho :
Sed tecum pariter simulque visam
Durus Sulpiciam Phaon amaret.
Frustra : namque ea nec Tonantis uxor,
Nec Bacchi, nec Apollinis puella
Erepto sibi viveret Caleno.

Cf. also Epigr. X. 38. She is mentioned, too, by the eminent Christian writer and Bishop of Clermont, Apollinaris Sidonius of the 5th century B. C :—

" Non quod Sulpiciae iocus Thaliae
Scripsit blandiloquum suo Caleno."
Carmina IX. 262.

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50. Ausonius, Cento Nuptialis: "prurire opusculum Sulpiciae, frontem caperare."

51. Fulgentius, Myth. I. 598: "neque enim illas heroidarum arbitreris lucernas meis praesules libris, quibus aut Sulpicillae procacitas aut Psyches curiositas declaratur."

52. Ribbeck, Geschichte der Römischen Dichtung: "Dem Verfasser sind die persönlichen Verhältnisse der Frau nicht unbekannt gewesen, aber ihren Geist wiederzugeben ist ihm nicht gelungen."

53. A clear imitation of the paronomastic line 1273 in the "Clouds" of Aristophanes.

54. Bobbio MS. now lost.

55. It has been many times printed or edited, e. g. by Ugoletus in his Ausonius, Parma, 1462; in the Aldine, 1517; in Scaliger's ed. 1575; in Dousa's ed. of Petronius, 1585; by Pithoeus, 1585, in his ed. of Persius and Juvenal; in Burmann's Poetae Lat. Min. 1731; Wernsdorf's Poetae Lat. Min. 1782; Baehrens' Poetae Lat. Min. 1882; Jahn-Bücheler in their ed. of Persius and Juvenal, 1886. Separate editions are by Schwartz and Gurlitt, 1819; H. Schläger, 1846; Carutti, Turin, 1872.

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Text from Jahn-Bücheler:

SVLPICIAE CARMEN ·LXX·

Musa, quibus numeris heroas et arma frequentas,
fabellam permitte mihi detexere paucis.
nam tibi secessi, tecum penetrale retractans
consilium. quare nec carmine curro Phalaeco,
nec trimetro iambo, nec qui pede fractus eodem 5
fortiter irasci discit duce Clazomenio;
cetera quin etiam, quot denique milia lusi
primaque Romanas docui contendere Graiis,
et salibus variare novis, constanter omitto,
teque, quibus princeps et facundissima calles, 10
aggredior. precibus descende clientis et audi.
dic mihi, Calliope, quidnam pater ille deorum
cogitat? an terras et patria saecula mutat,
quasque dedit quondam, morientibus eripit artes,
nosque iubet tacitos et iam rationis egentes 15
non aliter, primo quam cum surreximus arvo,
glandibus et purae rursus procurrere lymphae?
an reliquas terras conservat amicus et urbes,

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sed genus Ausonium Romulique exturbat alumnos?
quid reputemus enim? duo sunt, quibus exextulit ingens 20
Roma caput: virtus belli et sapientia pacis.
sed virtus agitata domi et socialibus armis
in freta Sicaniae et Carthaginis exilit arces
ceteraque imperia et totum simul abstulit orbem.
deinde velut stadio victor qui solus Achaeo 25
languet et immota secum virtute facessit,
sic itidem Romana manus, contendere postquam
destitit et pacem longis frenavit habenis,
ipsa domi leges et Graia inventa retractans
omnia bellorum terra quaesita marique 30
praemia consilio et molli ratione regebat.
stabat in his, neque enim poterat constare sine ipsis,
aut frustra uxori mendaxque Diespiter olim
'imperium sine fine dedi' dixisse probatur.
nunc igitur qui res Romanas imperat inter, 35
non trabe sed tergo prolapsus et ingluvie albus,
et studia et sapiens hominum nomenque genusque
omnia abire foras atque urbe excedere iussit.
quid facimus? Graios hominumque relinquimus urbes,

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ut Romana foret magis his instructa magistris : 40
nunc, Capitolino veluti turbante Camillo
ensibus et trutina Galli fugere relicta,
sic nostri palare senes dicuntur et ipsi
ut ferale suos onus extirpare libellos.
ergo Numantinus Libycusque erravit in isto 45
Scipio, qui Rhodio crevit formante magistro,
ceteraque illa manus bello facunda secundo,
quos inter prisci sententia, dia Catonis
scire deos magni fecisset, utrumne secundis
an magis adversis staret Romana propago. 50
scilicet adversis nam cum defendier armis
suadet amor patriae et captiva penatibus uxor,
convenit, ut vespis, quarum domus arce movente,
turba tegens strictis per lutea corpora telis ;
ast ubi apes secura redit, oblita suorum 55
plebs fraterque una somno moriuntur obeso.
Romulidarum igitur longa et gravis exitium pax.
hoc fabella modo pausam facit. optima, posthac,
Musa, velim moneas, sine qua mihi nulla voluptas
vivere, uti quondam Smyrna Lydusque peribat, 60
nunc itidem migrare velit. vel denique quidvis

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ut dea quaere aliud : tantum Romana Caleno
moenia iucundos pariterque averte Sabinos.
haec ego, tum paucis dea me dignarier infit :
'pone metus aequos, cultrix mea ; summa tyranno 65
haec instant odia et nostro periturus honore est.
nam laureta Numae fontisque habitamus eosdem
et comite Egeria ridemus inania coepta.
vive, vale. manet hunc pulchrum sua fama dolorem ;
Musarum spondet chorus et Romanus Apollo. 70

56. Sat. VI. 292–3 :

Nunc patimur longae pacis mala. saevior armis
luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem.

57. She is a prominent character in Georg Ebers' novel, "The Emperor," in which romance her visit to the statue, along with Sabina and Hadrian, is described :—"The imperial travelers and their companions listened to the famous Colossus of Memnon, of which the upper portion had been overthrown by an earthquake, and three times in the dawn they heard it sound. Balbilla described the incident in several long poems which Sabina caused to be engraved on the stone of the Co-

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lossus. The poetess imagined herself as hearing the voice of Memnon singing to his mother Eos while her tears, the fresh morning dew, fell upon the image of her son, fallen before the walls of Troy. These verses she composed in the Aeolian dialect, named herself as their writer and informed the readers —among whom she included Pontius—that she was descended from a house no less noble than that of King Antiochus."

58. It was the northernmost of those two Colossi seated on the plain of Thebes, across the Nile from Karnac and Luxor, which once formed part of the main entrance to the famous palace of Amenophis III. It was celebrated in antiquity for the peculiar sounds* it emitted at early dawn; was visited by travelers from all parts of the ancient world, from the time of Nero down to a late period, and was covered with Greek and Latin inscriptions of visitors recounting their experiences. After repairs were made in the reign of Septimius Severus, the statue ceased to give forth its tinkling sound. Juvenal in Sat. XV. speaks of the magic chords sounding from Memnon, and it has been celebrated in

*Sounds, like the snapping asunder of a chord, according to Pausanias.

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modern times by Tennyson, Keble and Victor Hugo. For detailed accounts of this statue the reader is referred to works on Egypt such as Brugsch's, Ebers', Letronne's, etc.

59. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms: "Bei einer gewissen Gewandheit zeigen Balbillas Gedichte einen hohen Grad gelehrter Pedanterie in dem strengen Festhalten des äolischen Dialekts, in welchem Sappho gedichtet hatte; ihre Werke waren also offenbar das eifrig studierte Vorbild auch dieser gelehrten Dilettantin."

60. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Vol. III. No. 5904:

Τὴν ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ σωφροσύνῃ τε καὶ
σοφίᾳ διαπρέπουσαν Ἰουλίαν βά[λβ]ιλλαν
βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος τῆς λαμπρᾶς [πόλε]ως
Ταυρομενιτῶν ἀνέ[στη]σεν τὴν λαμπροτάτην.

Fuit Julia Balbilla e comitatu Sabinae Augustae Ægyptum peregrantis. Ea memoriam sui reliquit versibus Graecis in colosso Memnone incisis, quibus satis se versatam esse in poesi prodidit (vide n. 4725, 4727, 4729, 4730, conf. n. 4731), quo pertinet *σοφία* eius titulo nostro celebrata. De eius genere vide ad n. 4730.

61. C. I. G., Vol. III. No. 4725:
Ἰουλίας βαλ[β]ίλλης, ὅτε ἤκουσε τοῦ Μέμνο[νο]ς ὁ Σεβαστὸς Ἀδριανός.

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Μέμνονα πυνθανόμαν Αἰγύπτιον, ἀλίω αὔγᾳ
αἰθόμενον φωνὴν θηβαΐ[κ]ω 'πὺ λίθω.
'Αδρίανον δ' ἐσίδων τὸν παμβασίληα πρὶν αὔγας
ἀελίω χαίρην εἶπέ τοι ὡς δύνοτον.
Τί[τ]αν δ' ὅττ' ἐλάων λεύκοισι δι' αἴθερος ἵπποις
ἐν] σκίᾳ ὡράων δεύτερον ἦχε μέτρον,
ὡς χάλκοιο τύπεντο[ς] ἴη Μέμνων πάλιν αὖδαν,
ὀξύτονον · χαίρω[ν κ]αὶ τρίτον ἃ[χ]ον ἴη.
κοίρανος 'Αδρίανος [τυσάκ]ις δ' ἀσπάσσατο καὐτος
Μέμνονα. [Β]α[λβιλλα δ' ἄρ] κ[ά]μεν οἶσι [π]όνοις
γρόππατα σαμαίν[ον]τά τ' ὄσ' εὔιδε κῶσσ' ἐσάκουσε ·
δῆλον παῖσι δ' ἔγε[ν]τ' ὥς τε φίλ[ε]ισι θέοι.

No. 4727:

Ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος ἔγω 'πὺ λίθω βάλβιλλα
φώνα[ς] τας θείας Μέμνονος ἢ Φαμένωθ.
ἦλθον ὕμοι δ' ἐράτᾳ βασιλήϊδι τυῖδε Σαβίννᾳ ·
ὥρας δὲ πρώτας Ἄλιος ἦχε δρόμος,
κοιράνω 'Αδριάνω πέμπτῳ δεκότῳ [τ'] ἐνιαυτῷ ·
[φῶτ]α δ' ἔχεσκε[ν] Ἄθυρ εἴκοσι καὶ πέσυρα.
—εἰκόστῳ πέμπτῳ δ' ἄματι μῆνος Ἄθυρ.—

No. 4729:

Ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἀκούσαμεν τοῦ Μέμνονος.
χ[θ]ίσδον μὲν [φώνην τῶ]Μέμν[ο]νος [οὐκ ἐθέλοντος,
ὡς π[ά]λιν ἀ[λλ]ότριος — — — — —
ἤπ]ειγ' ἄρ σέ[μν]α [μ]όρφα βασιλήϊδος, [αἰ] μ[ὴ
ἐ[λ]θοίσᾳ [γ' α]ὔτᾳ θή[ϊον ἃχ]ον ἴῃ ·
μὴ καὶ τοι βασίλευς κοτ[έσῃ, δ] νυ δ[ᾶ]ρον [δ]ν[ί]α
τ[ὰ]ν σέμ[ν]αν κατέχ[ει] κουριδί[αν ἄ]λοχον.

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κὼ Μέμνων τρέσσαις μεγάλω [μόμφαν β]ασί[λης
ἐξα[π]ίνας αὔδασ' · [ἀ] δ' ὁ[ἶ]ωισ' [ἐ]χάρη.

Inciderunt hoc epigramma homines, qui quum primo quo accesserant die non audissent Memnonem, postridie eum iterum inviserunt, eo ipso die quo primum audit Sabina Augusta. Ex universa indole epigrammatis colligas fuisse Balbillam, quae composuit, cujus sunt etiam tituli n. 4725, 4727, 4730.

No. 4730:

χαῖρε καὶ αὐδάσαις πρόφ[ρων, ταλαπειριε Μέμνον,
τὰν [πρόσθεν μόρφαν πόλλ' ἀποδυρόμενος.
γ[λ]ῶσσαν μέντοι ἀλεξ[ίκακον τήρην ἐπέοικεν ·
Καμβυσαις [δ'] ἄθεος τὸν μυ[ι ἔ]ωσ[ε λόγον.
δῶκέν τοι ποίναν τῶ σῶ [ὑβρίσματος ἠδ' ὧν
τὸν [Μ]ή[ν]ας Ἄπιν καὶ τὸν [Ὄσειριν ἕδρα.
ἀ[λ]λ' ἔ[γ]ω οὐ δοκίμωμι σέθεν [τό γε κάλον ὄλεσθαι ·
ψύχαν δ' ἀθανάταν [λ]ῶῖ[πον ἔ]σωσ[ε δέμας.
Εὐσεβέ[ε]ς γὰρ ἔμοι γ[έ]νεταί σέ [ποτ' ἀσπάσδοντο
Βάλβιλλός τ' ὁ σοφὸς κἀντίοχος [προπάτωρ,
Βάλβιλλος γενέταις μᾶτρος βασιλήϊδος [Ἄ]κ[μας,
τῶ πάτερος δὲ πάτηρ Ἀντίοχος βασίλευς.
κήνων ἐκ γενέας κἄ[γ]ω λόχον αἷμ[α] τὸ κάλο[ν.
Βαλβίλλας δ' ἐμέθεν γρό[ππα]τα [λ]εύ[σε]τε [δή.

No. 4731:

Ὅτε σὺν τῇ Σεβαστῇ Σαβείνῃ ἐγενόμην παρὰ
τῷ Μέμνονι.

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Αὖως καὶ γεράρω, Μέμνον, πάϊ Τιθώνοιο.
Θηβάας θάσσων ἄντα Δίος πόλιος,
ἢ Ἀμένωθ, βασίλευ Αἰγύπτιε, τὼς ἐνέποιοιν
ἴρηξς μύθων τῶν παλάων ἴδριες.

Nomen auctoris, cuius versus Balbillae (n. 4725, 4727, 4729, 4730) doctrinam redolent, fortasse initio interiit.

62. C. I. G., Vol. III. No. 4739:

Τρεβούλλης.
Τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀκούουσα φωνῆς Μέμνονος
ἐπόθουν σε, μῆτερ, κἀξακούειν εὐχόμην.

No. 4740:

Καικιλία Τρεβοῦλλα
δεύτερον ἀκούσασα
Μέμνονος.
Αὐδῆς τὸ πρόσθεν μοῦνον ἐξακούσαντας
νῦν ὡς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ἠσπάζετο
Μέμνων ὁ παῖς Ἠοῦς τε καὶ Τειθωνοῖο.
αἴσ[θ]ησιν ἄρα τῷ λίθῳ καὶ φθέγματα
ἡ φύσις ἔδωκε δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων;

No. 4741:

Καικιλία Τρεβοῦλλα
ἔγραφα ἀκούσασα τοῦδε Μέμνονος.
Ἔθραυσε Καμβύσης με τόνδε τὸν λίθον,
βασιλέ[ω]ς ἑῴου εἰκόν' ἐκμεμαγμένον.
φωνὴ δ' ὀδυ[ρτ]ὸς ἦν πάλαι μοι, Μέμνονος
τὰ πάθη γο[ῶ]σα, ἣν ἀφεῖλε Καμβύσης.

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ἄναρ[ϑ]ρα δ[ή] νῦν κἀσαφῆ τὰ φϑέγγματα
ὁλοφύρομαι, τῆς πρόσθε λεί[ψ]ανον τύχης.

63. Title in Thuaneus: Versus Eucheriae poetrie.

64. E. g. Thuaneus sive Parisinus 8071 and Vossianus F. 82.

65. Riese's Anthologia Latina, or Baehrens' Poetae Latini Minores:

Aurea concordi quae fulgent fila metallo
  Setarum cumulis consociare uolo:
Sericeum tegmen, gemmantia texta Laconum
  Pellibus hircinis aequiperanda loquor:
Nobilis horribili iungatur purpura burrae, 5
  Nectatur plumbo fulgida gemma graui:
Sit captiua sui nunc margarita nitoris
  Et clausa obscuro fulgeat in chalybe:
Lenconico pariter claudatur in aere smaragdus,
  Conpar silicibus nunc hyacinthus eat: 10
Rupibus atque molis similis dicatur iaspis,
  Eligat infernum iam modo luna chaos:
Nunc etiam urticis mandemus lilia iungi,
  Purpureamque rosam dira cicuta premat:
Nunc simul optemus despectis piscibus ergo 15
  Delicias magni nullificare freti:
Auratam crassantus amet, saxatilis anguem,
  Limacem pariter nunc sibi tructa petat:

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Altaque iungatur uili cum uulpe leaena,
  Perspicuam lyncem simius accipiat : 20
Iungatur nunc cerua asino, nunc tigris onagro,
  Iungatur fesso concita damma boui :
Nectareum uitient nunc lasera tetra rosatum
  Mellaque cum fellis sint modo mixta malis:
Gemmantem sociemus aquam luteumque barathrum, 25
  Stercoribus mixtis fons eat inriguus :
Praepes funereo cum uulture ludat hirundo,
  Cum bubone graui nunc philomela sonet:
Tristis perspicua sit cum perdice cauannus
  Iunctaque cum coruo pulcra columba cubet : 30
Haec monstra incertis mutent sibi tempora fatis :
  Rusticus et seruus sic petat Eucheriam !

66. " Mopsus triumphs : he weds the willing fair !
  When such is Nisa's choice ; what lover can despair ?
  Now griffons join with mares ; another age
  Shall see the hound and hind their thirst assuage
    Promiscuous at the spring."
(Dryden)

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67. Annals IV. 53: Id ego, a scriptoribus annalium non traditum, repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit.

68. N. H. VII. 46: Neronem quoque paulo ante principem et toto principatu suo hostem generis humani pedibus genitum scribit parens eius Agrippina.

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